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AUTHOR Modiano, Nancy; And Others
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ABSTRACT

The present recommendations are addressed to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and to tribal and community groups, educators, legislators, administrators and policy-makers everywhere who are interested in and concerned with the problems of Indian education. Ten major recommendations and several ancillary recommendations are put forward. They concern such issues as community control of Indian education; tribal decisions about the implementation of language policies, language at home, instruction of the ancestral language; preparation and evaluation of instructional materials, selection of teachers, resource centers, the role of the BIA; and the qualifications and preparation of teachers, administrators, and supervisors. (Author/DB)

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Recommendations for

LANGUAGE POLICY IN INDIAN EDUCATION

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PREFACE[1]

The present report represents the most comprehensive in a series of policy studies which have been carried out since 1967 for the Bureau of Indian Affairs by the Center for Applied Linguistics. These studies reflect an unusually enlightened desire on the part of a federal agency to seek professional guidance in the conduct of its mission. The Center for Applied Linguistics, which traditionally has been recognized as the principal national organization concerned with the role of language in the fields of public policy and education, has been pleased to work with the Bureau over the past six years in recommending improved practices and programs for BIA schools.

The Bureau has always been very responsive to recommendations made to it by the Center. For example, of 28 policy or implementation recommendations made during the years 1967 to 1969, which grew out of conferences called by the Center at the request of the Bureau, 21, or 75 per cent, have either been enacted or are in the process of implementation. Of the remainder, most were beyond the immediate capability of the Bureau of enactment. It is to be hoped that a comparable or even better degree of acceptance will be accorded the recommendations given here.

The present Recommendations are addressed not only to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but to tribal and community groups, educators, legislators, administrators and policy-makers everywhere who are interested in and concerned with the problems of Indian education. We hope that these Recommendations, coming at a time of rapidly-changing relationships between the BIA and Indian groups, when Native Americans are taking increased responsibility for their own destinies and the role of the Bureau is being reassessed, will provide guidelines for both sides in their joint and respective efforts to improve the quality of education for Indian children.

These Recommendations represent the work of several hands, and the expertise of many more minds, as well as the background of previous CAL experience in this area. The immediate project staff consisted of Dr. Nancy Modiano, Department of Education, Catholic University of America, Dr. William L. Leap, Department of Anthropology, The American University, and Dr. Rudolph C. Troike, Director, Center for Applied Linguistics, indispensably assisted by Mr. John Gorman and Mrs. Winafred N. Shoeffler.

Background papers and field studies were commissioned for the study from the following individuals: Mr. Donald and Mrs. Mary Helen Tapto Creamer (graduate program, Department of Education, Harvard University), Dr. Michael Krauss (Alaska Native Languages Division, Center for Northern Educational Research, University of Alaska), Ms. Bea Medicine (graduate program, Department of Anthropology, University of Washington), Dr. Wick R. Miller (Department of Anthropology, University of Utah), Mr. Paul Platero (graduate program, Department of Linguistics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Dr. William Pulte, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, Mrs. Barbara Ward (Burkburnett, Texas), and Dr. Harry Wolcott (CASEA, University of Oregon).

The Recommendations were reviewed and critiqued by a group of consultants from the number of different Indian tribes, representing a variety of relevant expertise and experience. The consultant-reviewers were: Mrs. Mary Helen Tapto Creamer (Harvard Graduate School of Education), Mr. Joe Medicine Crow (Crow Agency, Montana), Dr. William Demmert (Office of Education, Department of HEW), Mr. Birgil L. Kills-Straight (Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards), Ms. Bea Medicine (Department of Anthropology, University of Washington), Dr. John H. Peterson, Jr. (Choctaw Tribal Agency, Mississippi), Miss Anita Pfeiffer (Harvard Graduate School of Education), Mr. Dillon Platero (Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Arizona--unable to attend), Mr. Paul Platero (Graduate Program in Linguistics, MIT), and Mr. Reginald Rodriguez (Northern Pueblos Agency, Santa Fe, New Mexico. The final version of the Recommendations attempts to reflect a consensus of their views, and in some instances even follows the exact wording proposed by them, but the Center for Applied Linguistics alone remains responsible for the actual form the recommendations have taken.

In addition to the specific policy and implementation recommendations made herein, we wish to reiterate recommendations made in earlier studies regarding the need for research in various areas. Although we understand that the Bureau has not been as responsive to these recommendations owing to lack of funds for research, we wish to emphasize that better policy and curriculum planning must depend upon more adequate research information. We therefore urgently recommend that studies be undertaken to provide information on:

- first and second language acquisition
- language usage in Indian communities
- effects of Indian languages on spoken English
- styles of learning and cognitive styles (how a child processes what he learns)
- attitudes of teachers, children and parents toward learning and the purposes of the school.

Other research studies recommended by the Center are currently underway.

It is in the spirit of the cooperative relationship which has existed between the Bureau and the Center for Applied Linguistics in the past that the following recommendations related to language policies in education and their implementation are made.

Nancy Modiano
William L. Leap
Rudolph C. Troike

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[1]These Recommendations are taken from a larger study completed in March, 1973, by the Center for Applied Linguistics and submitted to the Language Arts Branch, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Robert Rebert, Chief.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendation 1.

Community control should be adopted as the guiding principle in all plans and actions relating to Indian education.

Native Americans have long been asking to have a more direct hand in decisions affecting their lives. President Nixon has announced and is now trying to implement a policy of self-determination for all Indian people. It is in this spirit that we affirm the principle of community control as the basis for all plans and actions relating to Indian education. Tribal groups should have primary responsibility for any decisions affecting their children's education. Where no body in the tribe or community now exists to carry out this responsibility, one should be created which is responsive to the concerns of the parents of children in the schools.

At present about 25 percent of Indian schools have advisory committees of one sort or another involved in shaping local educational programs. Most of these committees (hereinafter called Indian educational authorities) have taken the form of parent or community advisory councils. In some places, representative tribal education committees have been established. We do not wish to recommend one type of such organization over another, believing that this should be decided by each tribe or community for itself. However, we do strongly recommend that these groups should have direct responsibility for decisions concerning the operation of the schools, and should not be limited simply to an advisory role.

Recommendation 1.1.

Efforts by the BIA should be continued and expanded to aid Indian groups in developing more effective direction of their children's education.

We recognize that local Indian educational authorities are most often composed of people with relatively little formal background in education. When faced with the prospect of advising professional educators about school affairs they have most often either limited themselves to non-curriculum matters (for instance, plant maintenance personnel) or have acquiesced in the suggestions of education officials. In order to function effectively in matters of school program, it is essential that they receive appropriate training and information. The Guidelines for School Boards and training workshops now sponsored by the BIA go a long way toward meeting this need. The BIA should continue the policy of encouraging and supporting efforts of Indian tribes and communities to gain self-determination in their education and the BIA central office in Albuquerque should provide technical assistance and guidance to aid in these efforts as requested by Indian groups.

If the community is given greater responsibility and self-determination in the operation of its schools, this will have the effect of bringing the community into closer contact with the school. In addition, every effort should be made to create an atmosphere in which school people also go out into the community.

Recommendation 1.2.

Parents and community members should be involved in the decision-making and curricular processes of school operation.

Local Indian educational authorities, and the BIA, working in conjunction with them, can involve parents and other older relatives with the daily functioning of the school by making parent committees responsible for:

1. Budget review and recommendations.
2. Curriculum review and evaluation, and advising on materials development.
3. Evaluation of all commercially prepared teaching materials, especially in regard to the image of Indian people presented and omission of relevant data on Indians where appropriate.
4. Review and Evaluation of Title I activities.
5. Evening dormitory programs.
6. Evaluation and recommendations regarding meal service.
7. On-going evaluation of sports programs, including student participation and the physical fitness of the children.
8. Organization of student field trips.
9. Evaluation and recommendations for transportation services.
10. Stimulating community use of school facilities.
11. Organization and operation of parent-centered early childhood education programs.

In this way parents and other community members will be constantly involved with the school, or at least close at hand. They should be encouraged to visit their children's classrooms often and to observe the activities as long as they wish. By doing so, they should become better informed about the school and its programs, and better able to evaluate suggested changes in programs.

Recommendation 1.3.

The school should become an active community center.

This policy was one of the most effective tools of the missionaries prior to the Civil War. It was reinstituted during the Collier Commissionership, but seems to be honored far more in the breach than in practice today. Only informed parents can make wise decisions regarding their child's schooling. At present, most parents seem largely ignorant about what is happening in their children's schools.

Several of the techniques for making the school a viable community center include:

1. Removing fences from around schools so that they become part of the community physically and psychologically.
2. Using the schools for community meetings.
3. Hiring more parents for work in and near the school plant, and removing unnecessary qualifying restrictions (such as high school diploma or knowledge of English for custodial employees).
4. Making the facilities of the school, such as gym, library, and showers, available to community members.
5. Housing community services, such as the post office and the health clinic in or near the school, where this is agreeable with the community.

Recommendation 2.

Final decisions about the implementation of language policies should be made by Indian tribes as directed by Indian parents, not by the BIA or other external authority.

Since circumstances and needs vary greatly from one tribe and community to another, it is important that final decisions about language policies be in the hands of individual tribes and communities as represented by an educational committee, contract school board, or other entity duly constituted to act in their behalf in educational matters. The great diversity of Native American languages (of which there are over 100) and cultures, as well as important differences in local situations, makes attempts to formulate uniform solutions impracticable and undesirable, particularly if done by non-Indians. Probably in no other field of education is the need for local approaches to problems so important and necessary.

In relation to language policies, it is necessary that all alternatives be presented to the local or tribal Indian educational authority, along with the implications of each program so that they can make informed decisions. This should be done clearly, free from technical jargon, and preferably using a variety of media. The films "Haskie" and "Education in Eskimo" represent desirable steps toward meeting this need. Particularly in the new area of bilingual/bicultural education, local Indian educational authorities and communities need information about alternatives.* Such

*The most useful general work available at present is Saville, Muriel R., and Rudolph C. Troike, Handbook of Bilingual Education, 2nd. ed. rev., Washington, D.C.: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, School of Languages and Linguistics, Georgetown University, 1971.

information should be provided by the BIA, both in particular instances and in general. The BIA should commission the preparation of publications suitable for use by school boards and/or teachers containing information on alternatives in language policy and curriculum questions. (This was, in fact, originally planned as a follow-on to the present report, and it is hoped that funds will still be available for the purpose.)

Recommendation 3.

Within the above stricture (that the tribal or local Indian educational authority should make the final decision regarding the language program at a given school), the language of the home should be the language of beginning instruction and special attention should be given to developing the English language skills of all children.

The above recommendation is broad and complex. For the sake of clarity we will break it into some of its most important component parts and discuss each one separately.

Recommendation 3.1.

Where children enter school speaking only the ancestral language, that should be the language of beginning instruction.

Children should not be held back in their other school learning until they have mastered sufficient English, as is now the case in all but the bilingual programs. The research demonstrating the advantage of a bilingual approach, not only on attitudinal factors but also on academic achievement, even reading comprehension in the national language, is by now considerable and all points in the same direction: Children learn all school-related subjects best in the language they can comprehend. Insistence on instruction in a foreign tongue (as English is for many Indian children) serves only to retard their academic development considerable and to awaken a host of negative attitudes. On the other hand, use of the language of the home enhances academic development and serves to build positive relations between the child (and his family) and the school. Even the skills of fully accredited teachers (in the traditional sense of college degrees and state certification) cannot adequately overcome the barrier to understanding inherent in the lack of a common system of communication with the children.

Recommendation 3.2.

When children enter school fluent in both the ancestral language and Standard English, the local Indian educational authority should decide the role that each language should play in the child's school life.

Since English will at least partially complement the use of the mother tongue in the upper elementary and secondary grades, the ancestral language should continue to be

used as a language of instruction as well as be studied as a subject in its own right, throughout the child's school career. (See Recommendation 4 for further discussion.)

Certain necessary considerations in implementing a bilingual program, related to teaching personnel and materials development are discussed under Recommendations 6 and 7.

Recommendation 3.3.

Alternatives to boarding schools should be studied, and in the interim, steps should be taken to permit students closer contact with their families and members of their communities.

Ever since colonial times, Indian parents have been complaining that white boarding schools have left their children unprepared to function in their native society. Cut off from the normal socialization setting in the home and community, and subjected to systematic acculturation to Euro-American culture through the medium of the school, these children fail to acquire the social and technological knowledge necessary to function effectively as members of their native community. The resulting alienation can drive them out of the community or leave them as marginal men; some, often at great personal cost, undertake to learn as adults what they need to know to function in their own society.

Boarding schools are also notorious for their effect on children's language development. Deprived of adult models of their native language, children persist in the use of "baby" forms and constructions, and the normal process of maturation in their learning and use of the language is truncated. As adults, their linguistic handicap becomes a personal social handicap, and further weakens the vitality of the language in the community.

Boarding schools in some instances appear to serve a necessary purpose, but the need for them in all cases should be re-examined, and a serious study made of feasible alternatives. Wherever possible, we recommend that boarding schools be eliminated, but in the interim, until they can be phased out and as long as others continue in operation, we recommend the following steps to alleviate the problems discussed above:

1. The school calendar should be modified, and funds for transportation should be provided, to enable students to visit their families more frequently for short home-stay periods, rather than the present pattern of a nine-month's absence and a three-month's home-stay.
2. Every effort should be made to hire relatives of children in the school, or other adults from their home communities, to work as dormitory personnel (as is now done in some schools in Alaska and Oklahoma). The adults should be fluent in the native

language so that they will provide models for linguistic development, and they should regularly use the language in communication with the children.

We would reiterate that students in dormitories should be given more adequate space for individual study and privacy.

Recommendation 3.4.

Instruction in English as a Second Language (or second dialect) should be offered from the time the child enters school.

In view of the failure of traditional methods to teach English adequately, learning cannot be left merely to chance exposure, but must be structured to some extent. Sentence patterns and vocabulary should be introduced systematically and practiced in meaningful contexts and motivational forms (such as games and guided learning activities), since children enjoy highly repetitive activities and learn from them. Since experience indicates that children need to communicate in a language to learn it well, second language instruction should be done as much as possible in a communicational context, either real or constructed.

There is still a great deal to be learned about how children acquire a second language, and about the best methods for teaching, particularly with Indian children where different styles of learning may dictate different teaching strategies. We reiterate the recommendation of the 1968 and 1969 CAL conferences that a variety of approaches be tried, including new approaches not yet available through commercial publishers, and that these approaches then be evaluated under controlled conditions. We know that some experimentation is underway, but urge much more of it, and urge that research funding be sought and made available to study this whole question.

Recommendation 3.5.

Beginners classes, which retain students for one year before entering first grade, should be abolished and kindergarten programs, linguistically and culturally appropriate to local needs, instituted wherever possible.

There is considerable evidence that there is a greater incidence of social problems and academic failure and a higher drop-out rate among students who are overage for their grade level. The practice of placing students with an inadequate command of English in special "beginners" or "pre-first" classes, or of retaining such students at the end of first grade, is a major cause of students being over-age for grade level, and should be abolished.

Kindergartens, on the other hand, do not have this effect, and provide an opportunity for children to learn English and acquire reading-readiness skills before entering

first grade. Care should be taken, however, to assure that the kindergarten curriculum is appropriately designed to fit the linguistic and cultural situation of the Indian community and does not, as some past BIA programs have, represent an exportation of an urban white kindergarten curriculum to the reservation.

As will be noted in a later section, teaching personnel in kindergartens (and Head Start programs if these are available in the attendance area) should be required to be fluent in the native language of the children, and to use it in their teaching.

Recommendation 3.6.

When a student enters school speaking a non-standard, local variant of English, teachers should take care to adopt an accepting attitude toward the child's language and learn to build on the linguistic resources he brings to school.

It is important that teachers and administrators be made to understand why it is natural for languages to vary regionally and socially, and how negative reactions by a teacher toward a child's speech may serve to alienate the child and create a barrier to communication and learning in the classroom. At the same time, teachers and administrators need to understand how another language background may influence a person's second language in natural and understandable ways. Teachers should recognize the important part that any aspect of the community's language inventory (including both ancestral and non-Indian language styles) will play in providing a sense of group- (and self-) identification for the student in the classroom. The language a child brings to school is an important part of himself and his group identification, and to reject it is to reject him and his values, and violates the fundamental principle of education which is to take the child where he is.

Teachers need to:

1. Be given techniques for determining where the child is linguistically.
2. Learn how to build on this linguistic competence a child brings to school, and use it as a resource in their teaching.

In addition, research is urgently needed to determine the nature of local varieties of English and the degree to which they may impede the comprehension of and development of control over Standard English.

Recommendation 3.7.

Attention should be given to enriching the English language skills of all children in BIA schools.

The language assessment program, now under way, should be greatly expanded, and all children who show unfamiliarity

with standard English forms should be taught those forms. All children who show that they do not always know when to use a particular standard form should be given instruction and practice in its appropriate use. The exact point at which such instruction should be begun depends upon a variety of factors, the most important of which are the needs of the student as he perceives them and the directives of the local advisory council. To force such lessons on children unwilling to incorporate the new forms into their language or use them in standard ways will only create negative attitudes on their part and largely contradict the benefits of such lessons. At the same time, of course, both teachers and others have the obligation to convey to children why they consider it so necessary for them to learn and practice this material. Any attempt to improve students' English language skills must take into account the fact that, while a student may not be fully familiar with standard language conventions, he may already be familiar with the English style of a home community and, in that sense, already be fluent in the variety of English for which he has immediate need. While we do not recommend that the local variety of English become the language of beginning instruction, we reiterate the necessity for teachers to be aware that the variety of English in use within a given community is not in any sense "less grammatical", or "inferior" to the style outside of the community.

Control over a standard variety of English is important for many reasons, not the least of which is the fact that it is the major language of international communication today, and that access to advanced knowledge in many fields is possible only through the medium of English. Equally importantly for Native Americans, a control of standard English is necessary if they are not to deal with the larger American society from a position of disadvantage. Both with regard to individual job opportunities, in which a lack of English language skills may limit the individual's potential attainment, and at the community and tribal level, where the attainment of self-government involves the necessity of writing contracts, grants, and formal communications in English, the need for standard English is manifest.

In communities where English is not spoken by children entering school, teachers at all levels, including secondary, should be trained in methods of teaching English as a second language. If teachers in Head Start and kindergarten programs are not well-trained in ESL methods, it is preferable that instruction in English be deferred until the first grade, since experience has shown that children taught by inadequately trained teachers in Head Start and kindergarten do more poorly in first grade than children with no previous exposure to English.

Since writing skills are developed most highly at the secondary level, it is important that special attention be

given at this level to the writing problems of students for whom English is a second language. In addition, the secondary program in general needs to be adapted and made more relevant to the linguistic needs and cultural interests of Indian students. More than one of our field consultants expressed shock at finding the same texts and teaching programs in force in BIA schools as in urban white classrooms with no adaptation to the concerns of the Indian students.

Emphasis here is given to the development of a full range of language skills, especially reading and writing, which are particularly important for relating to, or participating in, an increasingly technologically complex world.

Part of developing full communicative competence in a language is learning how and when to use it in specific circumstances, and acquiring the cultural knowledge on which the assumptions and presuppositions of communication are built. Schools should therefore try to provide students with opportunities to observe and participate in settings typical of modern urban American culture, where they will be able to use English and hear it used for meaningful verbal transactions. This can be done in part through organized field trips and excursions, which should be provided for in the regular operating budget of any community schooling program, and should not be dependent upon the availability of special external funding.

Recommendation 3.8.

Where children enter school speaking only Standard English the standard English curriculum of the area should be adapted to meet the cultural needs of the children.

Such adaptation would include the modification of teaching methods to take full advantage of the learning styles preferred by the children, the introduction of topics of greater relevance to Indian students, and positive references to Native American contributions which have been made to the areas of study. Such references are needed both to counteract the negative stereotypes of Indians to which the students are exposed, their sources including American literature, and to provide positive models for the students, to increase their self-esteem and their pride in their identity as Native Americans and as members of their own tribe.

Recommendation 4.

In addition to being used as the beginning language of instruction where appropriate, ancestral languages should be taught at higher levels as well, including secondary and college.

An essential aspect of a bilingual program, if it is to be truly a bilingual program, is the maintenance of the ancestral language as a medium of instruction beyond the

beginning grades. While, owing to the present lack of instructional materials in the various Indian languages, English will continue for the time being to be used as the medium of instruction for most advanced academic work (i.e., secondary level and above), this fact should not preclude the use of Indian languages for these same subjects. They not only can but should be used for oral discourse in the various subject areas. In addition, time should be devoted to the study of the ancestral language and culture. This would be primarily a course combining Language Arts and Social Studies in the ancestral language, the Social Studies component to deal primarily with the history, lifeways and lore of the people. Only when such a course is an integral part of the child's program of studies can he be considered to be studying in a bilingual program.

As part of a program to develop a full range of skills in the ancestral language, students should be taught and encouraged to write compositions and even poetry in the language. This practice will deepen their control of the language and, through providing student-generated materials, will partly compensate for the lack of printed materials. Students can also collect and write down accounts by older relatives, following the example of the successful Foxfire program. Literacy in Indian languages, encouraged during the Collier era, has declined in recent years, and steps need to be taken promptly to reverse the decline.

A more limited approach to bilingual education, which is not recommended unless specifically desired by the community, is to have a bilingual program for only the first few years of schooling. In this approach, once the child knows enough English, all course work is given in English, and the language of the home is relegated to out-of-school activities. This is called a "bridge" program, since the language of the home is merely used as a bridge to English, and is then dropped. Such an approach does little to increase respect for the Indian language, or to insure students' acquisition of a full range of competence in it. A bridge program, if successful in its aims, will probably lead to the early disappearance of the home language.

The ability to speak an Indian language is rapidly becoming recognized as a mark of Indian identity, and interest in the teaching of Indian languages is growing among young people, including many who are only English speaking, as well as among tribal elders who wish to preserve ancestral traditions. During the early years of its educational endeavors the BIA was relentless in its suppression of Indian languages. To this day it bears the burden of the resentment engendered by that suppression. We feel that in response both to historical factors and to its new policy of self-determination for Indians, the BIA should make every effort to support the teaching of Indian languages at all levels.

There is a widespread lack of understanding among educators and others regarding the value of teaching Indian languages. Most people seem to take a "practical" view of the situation and thereby suppose that it is a waste of time and money to teach an Indian language if (1) the language is obsolescing, (2) the students available for studying it are from different Indian language backgrounds, or (3) there are few if any opportunities to use the language outside the classroom. Such a so-called practical point of view does not take into account the truly practical gains in language concepts that students can achieve if they become involved in language study that is both voluntary and related to their desire to deepen their understanding of Indian identity and culture. Many students from various tribes at one college stated that in their course on an Indian language they were learning the meaning of such concepts as noun, verb, and adverb that they had not understood in all their years of English classes. This, then, can be a key for teaching language concepts, which can in turn transfer to students' English lessons.

It is sometimes thought that Indian languages are unsuited for communication about technological and cultural concepts of modern Western industrial society, but this is not so. Any language can be adapted by its speakers, as English has, for the expression of new concepts and new experiences. The evidence for this was clearly shown in the successful service of Indians as front-line observers during World War II, who communicated about all sorts of new and unfamiliar situations in their native languages. In studying their own or another Indian language, students should examine the processes whereby languages generate new terms so that, if they wish to expand the use of their language to include job-related and other situations which they have previously considered completely within the realm of English, they will be able to do so.

Recommendation 5.

Additional funds should be provided and personnel prepared for the development of instructional materials appropriate for Indian children, especially in regard to the ancestral languages and cultures.

At present the BIA spends somewhere in the vicinity of $1100 to $1200 per pupil in its day schools. This is only slightly above the national average per pupil allocation. Yet BIA students have special problems, some of which can be remedied only through the allocation of sufficient funds. One such area, perhaps the major one, is the preparation of specialized personnel and the development of materials designed exclusively for Indian children. This is particularly true for programs involving the ancestral language. Just as it is

both just and educationally more effective to offer instruction in the ancestral language and about the ancestral culture, so it is necessary to supply sufficient funds for such programs.

We believe that instruction in and about Native American languages and cultures should be part of the basic foundation program in BIA schools, and should not be made contingent on external funding, such as Title VII. We do recognize, however, that the initial development of materials requires additional personnel, time, and equipment, and urge that special funding be provided for this purpose. To facilitate materials production, schools should be able to contract for publication of materials which they develop.

Recommendation 5.1.

A new position, that of language development specialist, should be created and individuals hired for this position should be assigned to work directly in the schools.

There should be one such specialist per language group or, where the number of students from a given language background exceeds 1000, per 1000 students. The language development specialist should be fluent in the language of the group with whom he works and have a thorough knowledge of their culture. In addition, he should have successful classroom experience, preferably at the early childhood or elementary level, and professional training both in applied linguistics and in instructional materials development. Where all of these criteria cannot be met in a single individual, fluency in the language and knowledge of the culture should take precedence in selection. The language development specialist would be the person primarily responsible for the development of instructional materials related to the teaching of the ancestral language, in the ancestral language, and about the ancestral culture. He would also be responsible for the organization of workshops and other staff training in the use of these materials.

The selection and hiring of each person who would fill such a position should be the responsibility of the tribal or local Indian educational authority. In most instances it is assumed that the language development specialists will be recruited from among BIA and Contract Schools' teachers and aides. In the event they lack the prior requisite training, a special summer institute should be organized for them, under the sponsorship of a university (so that college credit can be granted), and should include studies in the development of orthographies, methods of linguistic analysis, child language acquisition, sociolinguistics, the teaching of reading, and educational technology. Additional college-level work in linguistic analysis, language planning, language acquisition, and reading should be required.

The first task of these specialists, in consultation with the community and preferably with a trained linguist, will be to systematize an orthography for each language (if a systematic orthography is not currently in use), or to reevaluate and modify (as necessary) the one already in use. The orthography should rely on the best available linguistic analysis of the language; readability, historical factors (such as the existence of a body of literature), and dialect variation should be taken into account. Before finalizing an orthography, an advisory committee of individuals with experience in linguistics and literacy should be consulted, as was done in the BIA sponsored CAL conference on Navajo orthography. Every effort should be made to test alternatives before the orthography is fixed. The orthographies so developed will become the standard for their languages.

After this has been done, the primary responsibility of the specialist will be the development of instructional materials. There are a number of potential sources for these materials. For some languages, any effort should begin with a consideration of readers published by the BIA in the Collier era. Teachers should be trained in the use of the experience chart approach to beginning reading instruction, and materials produced in this way can be edited and duplicated. Older students can be encouraged to write stories for younger ones, as has been done in Alaska. The lore of the community can be collected, where the elders wish to see their stories in print. The archives of the Smithsonian Institution and the American Philosophical Society Library contain extensive transcriptions of Indian lore. The possibilities offered by other programs and organizations should not be overlooked; in many instances it may be that the basis for curriculum materials already exists, and duplication of effort should be avoided wherever possible.

Where new terms must be developed to meet classroom needs, it is desirable that this be made the responsibility of a community or tribal committee, to insure that a uniform usage is agreed upon. This is not a difficult process, but is necessary so that teachers will not have to develop their own individual terminology.

The specialist should also work on the development of practice materials, including games and short dramatizations, and, where possible, on mediated materials, as is presently being done at Blanding, Utah.

For the teaching of the ancestral languages as second languages, especially in communities where few speakers are left, another type of preparation is necessary. Some such programs have been content merely to give their students notions of the language, including small vocabulary lists. More than this can be done, and relatively inexpensively, if the community involved is sufficiently interested and cooperative. Felicitous arrangements have been worked out in some

places between advanced graduate students of linguistics and anthropology and Indian communities, in a spirit of responsible cooperation. The students have gained entree and access to research sites, with the clear understanding of the communities, but only in return for their fulfilling certain contractual obligations. These obligations could easily include first the transcription and analysis of the ancestral language, then the development of a syllabus for the teaching of that language, and finally the actual teaching of the language to those wishing to learn it. Graduate students and Indian people can also be used to look for existing transcriptions of ancestral lore and to do a variety of other tasks for which their training prepares them.

Recommendation 6.

The selection of teachers should be made by the local or tribal Indian education authority, and where possible, made from within the local community.

No one is more keenly aware of the problems inherent in the present recruitment and hiring system of BIA than is its own supervisory personnel. Because the implementation of language policy guidelines is inseparably related to personnel recruitment and appointment, we urgently recommend that present practices cease, and that the local or tribal Indian educational authority have the direct responsibility for selecting and hiring the staff of their own schooling programs. In this way they will be able to choose those individuals who are best suited for working with their children, and the personnel so chosen will be more responsive to community educational needs. Such a policy is already being practiced by the Contract Schools and by the Indian Health Service, also under contract. We recommend that similar hiring procedures become active policy throughout the schools of BIA.

In addition, we recommend that the personnel of any Indian school program be selected primarily from within the local Indian community. That is, we recommend that the selection and hiring of persons for the school staff take fullest advantage of the potential which presently exists within the membership of the local community.

Recommendation 6.1.

It should be mandatory for teachers and supervisory personnel involved in bilingual, kindergarten, or Head Start programs to be fluent in the Indian language being used for instruction.

It is impossible for supervisory personnel in charge of bilingual or other programs involving use of an Indian language to properly carry out their duties if they are not fluent in the language being used. In the interests of quality in BIA educational programs, we urge the immediate implementation of this recommendation.

In addition, all personnel involved in bilingual programs should be required to have training in methods of teaching English as a second language.

Recommendation 7.

A method of competency (or performance) based certification for teaching, supervisory, and administrative personnel should be developed by BIA in consultation with Indian educational groups.

For the new or expanded programs we have recommended above it will be necessary to hire teachers fluent in the ancestral language. At present, while there are some fluent speakers working as teachers, they are a mere handful compared to the need. Some schools with bilingual programs have sought the Indian language teachers from among the local population, and while they have found ample numbers of fluent speakers, many of them warm and loving persons who enjoy working with children, they have found few who could qualify above the rank of Aide. The result has been that in some classrooms the certified teacher has had to stand aside while the aide did most of the teaching and was the one best able to relate to the children; the person with the status and salary had to defer to the better-equipped person in the less prestigious position. This situation is inherently unfair to both sides, and gives further proof to the children that in the eyes of the school their people (and language) are less worthy than that of whites.

A possible solution to this problem lies in competence (or performance) based teacher certification. Procedures for such certification are currently being investigated in a number of states, such as Texas, which has a major project underway, and Oregon. It is already in practice in the state of Washington. Another major effort in this direction currently underway is that of developing a national licensing system at the early childhood level (Child Development Associate). The Teacher Corps has also developed competency statements for teachers working with Indian groups, though these should probably be carefully screened by Indian advisory panels.

Considerations of the applicability of this procedure within the context of Indian Education policy are already underway. One dissertation is being written on the subject, and the National Indian Education Association has discussed the feasibility of negotiating competency-based contracts with individual teachers.

As NIEA has noted, a competency-based approach to certification requires that a series of criteria "describing a good teacher" be developed. They must be listed in behavioral, measurable terms. The teacher-candidate is tested for his knowledge of relevant content areas, and he is observed in the classroom, and his performance rated. Once he passes all the criteria, the candidate is licensed.

A similar procedure can be used for in-service training, especially to up-grade the skills of teachers already in service. In addition to testing for knowledge of content areas presented in in-service and summer courses, there is an evaluation of the nature of pupil response, especially unusually positive or negative attitudes of children, major disruptions in student discipline, and test scores.

In developing a competency-based system of teacher certification, the BIA should take advantage of the experiences of those agencies which have already been involved in such procedures. However, it will be necessary to modify their criteria as well as their assessment systems. Experience with non-Indian BIA teachers has shown that, while many aspects of good teaching are universal, there are certain teacher behaviors, which while successful with white students, are not with Indians, For example, white children generally expect to single themselves out from the group in order to gain the teacher's favor and therefore respond enthusiastically to questions such as "Who knows the answer?" or "Who can help Mary?"; many Indian children will respond with impassive silence. In addition, a great deal of specialized knowledge of Indian languages and cultures, and of English as a second language teaching techniques, should be required by BIA competencies, for administrative and supervisory personnel as well as teachers.

Even taking into consideration the pioneering work of the several states, the development of a competency-based licensing system will take a major effort on the part of the BIA. We strongly urge that sufficient resources be devoted to this end.

It is imperative in the development of such a system that Indian educational groups be involved at all stages. Local and tribal educational authorities as well as state and national Indian educational organizations should participate directly in the formulation of the competency statements, and in the planning and evaluation of their implementation.

Competency-based certification will not, in itself, create a pool of fully qualified teachers for Indian schools, even if the Bachelor's degree is considered less important than the demonstration of excellent teaching skills. Many teachers so licensed should be encouraged to continue their college studies. We therefore urge the following recommendation.

Recommendation 7.1.

The BIA should authorize local and tribal Indian educational authorities to, and should itself, negotiate with a variety of colleges and universities in order to obtain the most appropriate professional preparation possible for its teachers.

While the BIA has had only limited success in persuading colleges and universities to meet its needs for teacher training programs, local and tribal groups on their own initiative have been very successful in working out cooperative programs with academic institutions. If the control of funds for this purpose is placed in the hands of local and tribal Indian education authorities, they will be in a better position to obtain services from academic institutions and to make certain that the services provided are appropriate to their needs.

While it is desirable that local colleges be encouraged to provide the necessary training for BIA teachers, such training should not be limited to these schools if they show themselves unable to modify their procedures sufficiently to meet the needs of special groups. It may well be that, once faced with competition, they will alter their procedures sufficiently to supply the needs. If not, the BIA and Indian communities should not be tied to their services. Colleges from out of the area willing to provide all or most of the teacher's academic preparation off-campus, at locations convenient to the Indian teachers, should be invited to propose plans of study, and should be given equal consideration with local colleges. In all cases, quality of education should be a major criterion.

Recommendation 7.2.

The BIA should make increased resources available to local Indian educational authorities to meet the need for expanded in-service training resulting from the adoption of bilingual/bicultural programs.

With the modifications of programs we have recommended above it will be necessary for all elementary and many secondary teachers to receive additional preparation for their new roles. This includes teachers now in service who speak only English. The following three formats are all recommended for implementation.

1. Workshops. To be held periodically, and especially before the schools open in the Fall. Topics to be covered should include: cross-cultural awareness; improving the instruction of English as a Second Language (ESL) and Standard English as a Second Dialect; the development and standardization of vocabulary in the ancestral language for the various academic subjects such as math, social studies, and science; methods of teaching in the ancestral language (with special attention to the language arts); the development of curriculum related to the ancestral language and culture; and the development of techniques for individualized instruction, particularly organization and prescriptive and diagnostic teaching. All workshops should include school administrators and community members, and they should be encouraged to attend.

2. Home Visits. Teachers and school administrators should be given time, periodically, to visit each of the homes of their students, where this is acceptable to the local community.

In one school program reported on, teachers were given half an afternoon off every few weeks and sent out with an interpreter to visit students' homes. Indian parents were generally receptive to the teachers' visits. One preschool project in Michigan found that teachers' discussions with parents in the child's home were a crucial part of the program's success. At another school, non-Indian teachers were reported to have gained considerable insight from an on-going program of home visits.

3. On-going Curriculum Modification Projects should be established in every school.

The purpose is to foster the continuous improvement of educational programs within a particular school, based on steady examination of current instructional practice by the practitioners themselves. A second purpose is the progressive deepening of the teacher's understanding of the processes of teaching and learning, and a greater sensitization to the cultural and linguistic characteristics and abilities of particular groups of children. No materials prepared for a national, predominantly white and urban scholastic audience, will be uniformly suitable for culturally diverse groups from the Mikasuki to the Eskimo, or from the Zuñi to the Sioux. Part of continuing teacher development should be experience in curriculum modification, so that teachers learn not to automatically accept externally-produced materials as is, but are able to change them to meet the genuine needs and cultural characteristics of their own students.

There may already be on-going projects in BIA schools or areas which are now being conducted along the lines we suggest.

A particular caveat should be noted concerning curriculum development efforts. Although in embarking on new or experimental programs there is always a temptation to engage in uncoordinated local production of curriculum materials, experience has shown that this often leads to wasteful duplication and poor quality materials. Where possible, effort should be directed at the modification of existing commercially available materials. Where this is not feasible or desirable, or where no adequate materials exist, materials development and curriculum modification should be carried out or coordinated by a competent specialist, in accordance with the wishes of the community, and with the consultation of appropriate outside specialists. Teachers can and should assist with this under the supervision of a specialist, and should be involved in testing and providing feedback for such development, so that their participation is significant, but it must be recognized that materials development and

curriculum modification require special training and ability which teachers (not even master teachers) can be expected to have. (See A Foundation Goes to School, Ford Foundation, 1973.)

Recommendation 8.

Guidelines should be prepared for the evaluation of commercially prepared materials.

At present the BIA schools receive relatively little help in the selection of commercially prepared materials. Poor decisions are costly; often the school must live with its mistakes and use them for several years until sufficient funds are again available for replacement. Sometimes the school people do not have sufficient background to judge the adequacy of the content (this is especially true for ESL and mathematics materials); other times they are dazzled by the efforts of high pitched salesmen. It is suggested that the BIA develop guidelines for the evaluation of curriculum materials, to be used by teachers and administrators in selecting and adopting materials for their programs. Factors to be considered in the selection of materials should include:

- The needs of the children
- The purposes and requirements of the programs into which they will fit
- Comprehensibility, including language, settings, topics, etc.
- Adequacy of the portrayal of minority groups in the United States, including of course, Indians
- Teacher preference
- Durability
- Cost
- Physical attractiveness
- Purposes for which the material was originally designed
- Safety factors

In developing these guidelines, the BIA should call on outside consultants such as the Center for Applied Linguistics and the National Indian Historical Society for advice, and should consider holding a conference of relevant specialists to review the guidelines and make recommendations on them.

In a similar fashion, where specific evaluations of specific materials are required, the BIA should be encouraged to call upon outside consultants for their advice and suggestions. The Center for Applied Linguistics, for example, could be requested to evaluate the quality and effectiveness of the various ESL materials currently available for use in community schools. In all instances, it would be the responsibility of the outside consultant not only to make specific suggestions, but to provide sufficient, well worded discussion to document the rationale for the stated suggestions. That is, the suggestions should be able to provide sufficient bases for the local school board, language development specialist, and instructional staff to formulate their considered opinion.

The guidelines should also stress that curriculum should be designed in the school house and not, by default, by the commercial publisher. Our position is that most materials are neither inherently good nor inherently bad, but rather that school staffs should plan their programs based on the needs and cultural and linguistic background of the children, and should then seek those materials which will enable them to carry their tasks forward most effectively.

Recommendation 9.

Regional Indian Education Resource Centers should be established to provide more responsive service to local Indian schools and communities.

Despite the admirable record of the Indian Education Resource Center in Albuquerque in assisting schools and communities in preparing project proposals for federal and private agencies, it is an inevitable consequence of its geographic position that it is more responsive to the needs of Indian groups in its immediate area. Groups from elsewhere in the country were unanimous stating that the level of assistance which they received from the Albuquerque Center was inadequate to their needs, and many were even unaware of its existence.

There was strong consensus that regional education resource centers were needed, which would be closer to the schools, and hence more responsive to their needs. The regional centers should be staffed primarily with Indian people from the area they are to serve, including in top administrative positions. There are a growing number of Indians with professional training who are being graduated every year, who should be actively recruited to work in these centers.

Part of the funding for services provided by the centers should be channeled through the local Indian educational authorities, who would be free to determine whether they wished to contract with the regional center for certain services, or seek assistance elsewhere. By making the funding of the centers partly contingent on the satisfaction of communities with their services, the competition will undoubtedly contribute to maintaining the quality of the services.

Recommendation 10.

The BIA, as part of the service role it is now properly seeking in Indian education, should become a consumer advocate for Indian people.

In addition to providing leadership in the development of a competency-based certification system and preparing guidelines for the evaluation of educational materials, the BIA can serve the larger Indian community and the nation by becoming a consumer advocate for Indian people in all matters under its purview, including all aspects of education, health, and economic development.

The Bureau already has a better record in many of these areas than either the Indian community or the general public realizes. Nevertheless, as with all organizations, there is room for improvement, and the field of consumer education and protection from fraud or exploitation is one where the national-level functions of the Bureau can be most usefully realized.

In addition, the Bureau should be encouraged to continue to seek outside advice in its work, both from Indian groups and from professional sources. It is in the nature of an institution such as the Bureau to tend toward a centripetal view, and to rely largely on its own resources. It is greatly to the Bureau's credit that it has gone outside itself for advice and interaction much more than most agencies, and we commend past performance in this regard and encourage its continuation in the future.